

MEMORANDUM

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NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

INFORMATION 6/12

May 3, 1973

MEMORANDUM FOR:

MR. KISSINGER

FROM:

WILLIAM L. STEARMAN *WLS*

SUBJECT:

Pham Van Dong May Day Speech

Premier Pham Van Dong's May Day speech (Tab A) boasted that, with the withdrawal of the "last unit" of the U. S. Army, Vietnam was free of foreign "occupation" for the first time in over a century. Dong castigated the U. S. for violating the Vietnam and Laos Agreements, and for promoting aggression against Cambodia.

Dong indicated continued reliance on the "Socialist countries" for support and assistance and a readiness to "cooperate in the economic field with any country;" however, these references to assistance and economic cooperation were immediately followed by a call for strengthening the DRV's armed forces (Relevant quotes are marked on the text of the speech at Tab A.)

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IV. 1 May 73

K 4

NORTH VIETNAM

All the participants looked up in suspense, waving flags and flowers as the planes raced past.

The square became astir when groups of Young Pioneers, "nephews and nieces of Uncle Ho" marched past, beating drums and blaring clarions.

The crowds were deeply moved at the sight of a large portrait of President Ho Chi Minh rising above a big lotus flower carried by a vehicle.

As they drew level with the tribune, the pioneers released hundreds of peace doves and hundreds of coloured balloons carrying streamers. They carried panels with the slogan:

"To welcome Vietnam's great victory, we'll study well." Then they chanted the slogan while waving flowers and red handkerchiefs to the personalities on the stands.

They were followed by neat square units of workers representing more than one million Vietnamese workers, and carrying models of a high-tension post, a lathe, a diesel motor, a ship, a prefab block, a bus, floral textile and other industrial products.

After the handicraft workers came the co-operative farmers hailing from the suburban districts with tractors and lorries carrying agricultural and cattle-breeding produce and charts showing achievements. One of the big panels said that in 1972, in spite of the brutal U.S. war of destruction, North Vietnam reaped bumper harvests with 6 provinces, 58 districts and 3,500 co-operatives obtaining 5 tons or more of paddy per hectare.

And there was the contingent of brain workers who had made important contributions to the dissemination of science and technology among the popular masses in service of production, fighting and the people's life.

They were followed by representatives of workers of the state-run trade service of students and youth, of the Hanoi population (among them thousands of women) in full regalia, and Chinese residents in their multi-coloured national costumes.

A gay note was struck by the groups of sports men and women who performed rhythmic movements and traditional fencing as they moved along.

The civilian march wound up with the groups of cultural and art workers performing dragon and unicorn dances.

The meeting and parade closed with the stirring strains of "Liberate the South," which has become the anthem of the Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Vietnam.

Pham Van Dong Speech

Hanoi in Vietnamese to Vietnam 2305 GMT 30 Apr 73 S

[Speech by DRV Premier Pham Van Dong at 1 May rally in Ba Dinh Square, Hanoi--live]

[Text] Honorable President Ton Duc Thang and comrade leaders of the VWP and DRV state, dear compatriots and combatants:

IV. 1 May 73

K 5

NORTH VIETNAM

Today, 1 May, International Labor Day, all our Vietnamese people welcome the great victory they have just scored in their protracted and hard, yet extremely glorious, anti-U.S. national salvation resistance. This great victory has opened bright prospects and created favorable conditions for all our Vietnamese people to continue the struggle aimed at maintaining and consolidating peace; building socialism in the north; achieving independence and democracy in the south; proceeding toward the peaceful reunification of the fatherland; building Vietnam into a peaceful, unified, independent, democratic, prosperous and powerful country; and most positively contributing to the world peoples' revolutionary undertaking.

On 29 March 1973 the last unit of the U.S. expeditionary army of more than half a million men withdrew from the southern part of our country, putting an end to the occupation of our territory by foreign troops. This is a historic fact marking the end of a heroic struggle of many Vietnamese generations for more than a century. In particular, since the founding of our party and the hoisting of the independence banner by President Ho Chi Minh, brilliant pages have been added to the history of this struggle. These include the success of the August revolution that led to the founding of the DRV throughout the entire territory (toàn bộ lãnh thổ) of the Vietnamese people; the Dien Bien Phu victory that marked the downfall of French colonialism; and most strikingly, the resounding and epochal success of the anti-U.S. national salvation resistance that heavily defeated the neocolonialism of the U.S. imperialists.

In the stalwart struggle, our Vietnamese people take just pride in their very important contributions to the struggle for national liberation by the world peoples. Our Vietnamese people's great victory has been and is strongly encouraging the oppressed peoples to rise up and conduct a heaven- and earth-shaking struggle with a view to defeating imperialism and both the old and new colonialisms, and achieving independence, freedom, the right to live and the right to build their countries in accordance with their aspirations and will.

On this glorious day our Vietnamese people cordially send their warmest sentiments and deepest gratitude to the peoples in the fraternal socialist countries, the international communist and worker movements, the working class, laboring people, and oppressed peoples, the American progressives and all conscientious people throughout the world, who have singlemindedly sympathized with, supported and assisted us during the recent extremely difficult and glorious struggle. We convey to our brothers and friends throughout the four oceans and the five continents our salutations of solidarity and victory in the struggle for peace, national independence, democracy and socialism.

Today, more than 90 days following the signing of the Paris agreement on ending the war and restoring peace in Vietnam, the actual situation proves that the DRV Government and the PRGSRV have always strictly respected and scrupulously implemented the Paris agreement. On the contrary, the United States and the Saigon administration have repeatedly violated in a grave and systematic manner all provisions of the agreement they had undertaken. They have violated the cease-fire; sabotaged peace, infringed on the Vietnamese people's fundamental national rights and the South Vietnamese people's right to self-determination, and violated the provisions concerning peace, national independence, democratic liberties and national concord in South Vietnam.

In Laos, although the agreement on restoring peace and achieving national concord has been signed, the U.S. imperialists still continue to support and assist the rightist clique in seriously violating the Vientiane agreement.

IV. 1 May 73

K 6

NORTH VIETNAM

In Cambodia, the United States intensifies and escalates the war, barbarously strikes the Cambodian liberated areas, and plots to rush the Saigon and Bangkok mercenary troops to conduct an aggression against Cambodia.

At present, all conscientious people in the world can clearly realize that although the United States has sustained bitter defeats, the U.S. imperialists still refuse to renounce their military involvement in Cambodia. In South Vietnam, they still maintain their design of turning the southern part of our country into a U.S. neo-colony and of perpetuating the division of Vietnam. They continue to use the Saigon administration, a fascist military clique, as an instrument to carry out this dark scheme. They are striving to support and assist the puppet clique to brazenly sabotage the main provisions of the Paris agreement and to oppose the most cherished aspirations of the South Vietnamese people of all walks of life.

More brazenly, they falsely accuse us of violating the Paris agreement, thus displaying their old "thief crying stop thief" trick. Nonetheless, these too obvious tricks can only further expose the stubborn, reactionary and slanderous nature of the U.S. administration. If in the old days the U.S. imperialists and their henchmen had sustained repeated and ever heavier defeats, today they will certainly sustain even bitterer defeats. The Vietnamese people will certainly be victorious, because the Vietnamese people's forces in both zones have become stronger than ever. The Vietnamese people will be victorious, because we know how to perseveringly step up our struggle aimed at achieving at any cost our basic national rights and the right to self-determination of the Vietnamese people in South Vietnam, and in this struggle we have always closely united with the fraternal Lao and Cambodian peoples.

We will triumph because the peoples of socialist countries and the world people will continue to give us valuable and varied support and assistance.

The situation has changed in favor of our people while the U.S. imperialists and Saigon administration are encountering countless difficulties. Our Vietnamese people as well as other Indochinese peoples will surely win final victory.

Our people's struggle remains very tense, hard and complicated, but we are very confident and optimistic because this struggle is consistent with the evolution of history and the trend of development of the era.

Great President Ho Chi Minh's sacred testament is encouraging and stimulating us to do our best to safeguard and consolidate our peace, successfully build socialism in the north, achieve independence and democracy in the south and proceed toward peacefully reunifying our beloved fatherland.

Today, in greeting our victory, we cordially extend our kith-and-kin sentiments, pride and boundless confidence to our compatriots and combatants in the south, the fatherland's brass fortress.

Under the leadership of the NFSLV and PRGRSV, the only genuine representative of the South Vietnamese people, the just and heroic struggle of our southern compatriots and combatants will surely be successful.

President Ho said: Vietnam is one, the Vietnamese people are one. Although rivers may dry up and mountains may erode, this truth will never change. In our nation's history, after a victory over foreign invasion, this is a period of brilliant development.

IV. 1 May 73

K 7

NORTH VIETNAM

Our victory in the anti-U.S. resistance has created new favorable conditions for us to rebuild our country, build our socialist North Vietnam, comprehensively strengthen the forces of the DRV--the stable rear base of our country's revolution and the impregnable outpost of the socialist camp in Southeast Asia.

Because of our obligation to the countless generations that have struggle self-denyingly for the present victory, because of our duty to the country and the people, and because of our glorious international obligations, let us work with all our enthusiasm for the revolution, with all our abilities and with determination to make the greatest contributions to this very beautiful enterprise: building socialism in the north, a socialist society and socialist men.

The immediate requirements to be fulfilled are: Quickly stabilize the situation, secure an organized, disciplined and stable life, gradually improve the people's living conditions, and build and develop the economy, culture, science and technology.

We must deeply understand how we must work and carry out production at present. We are now sowing seeds, and we will reap a successful harvest tomorrow as a result of our present toil. As in the recent wonderful struggle, our hands and our minds can do everything. Our people's faith and great confidence in our party's clear-sighted leadership, our northern socialist regime and our nation's brilliant future is a motive force stimulating us to advance and helping us to quickly accelerate the development of our socialist state-operated economy.

We always rely on our own resources. At the same time, we strive to secure (tranh thur) the assistance in many fields from the USSR, China and other socialist countries.

We are ready to cooperate in the economic field with any country desiring to cooperate with us on the basis of respect for the independence and sovereignty of each other, of equality and of mutual interests. In building the socialist north and increasing the strength of the DRV, we must pay attention to consolidating national defense, strengthening the armed forces, constantly heightening vigilance, improving combat and fighting well in order to smash all schemes and acts encroaching on our socialist fatherland... Once again, our Vietnamese people reaffirm that no cruel force, no cunning maneuver and no insolent threat can make us waver and stray from our path of struggle and victory.

Dear compatriots and combatants, our Vietnamese people are living and struggling in a very great historic period of our country and the world. The widespread and deep revolutionary developments are quickly changing the balance of forces between imperialism headed by the U.S. imperialists and the revolutionary trend of the world's peoples. Everywhere various peoples are rising up to master their fate. Standing in the unprecedentedly massive ranks of the world revolution, the Vietnamese people are determined to complete most satisfactorily their revolutionary undertaking and at the same time fulfill their obligations to the revolutionary movement of the world's peoples. The Vietnamese people will surely win; the Indochinese peoples will surely win; and the world's peoples will surely win in the struggle for peace, national independence, democracy and socialism.

Long live the spirit of International Labor Day--1 May!